8: Skinner E-5 (1955-1957) 1958
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Karême), celebrate the great festival of Ramadan and the lesser festivals, and aspire to make the pilgrimage to Mecca. Most of the Moslems can lead prayers, but only about one-tenth of their number can read and recite the Koran. However, today the masters (*karasambas*) of the 32 Koranic schools in the district are endeavoring to instruct the many boys and few girls in reading the Koran and understanding Moslem theology.

The Karême is observed by most adult Moslems in the community with the exception of invalids and working men. Moslems say that the fast is intended to turn the minds of the people to God, and they distinguish between the Moslems "of the mouth" who break the fast and those "of the heart" who fast until Ramadan. The crescent moon of Ramadan is greeted with guns and general rejoicing and the following morning the Moslems gather at the tomb of Ngado to give praises to God; during the rest of the day they pay homage to the chief and visit their friends. However, a change in the traditional observance of Ramadan is expected, because one of the Moslem leaders objects to the ceremony at the tomb of Ngado. He feels that some Moslems are beginning to regard the tomb of the first Moslem as an earth shrine or Tengkougre.

So far, only five of the more prominent Moslems in the district have made or are making the pilgrimage to Mecca. The first man made the voyage about seven years ago, and is now conducting a Koranic school in a neighboring district. His brother went to Mecca about two years ago and is now the senior *El Hadj* in the district. Of the two men who were on the pilgrimage when I arrived in the district, one has since died near the Red Sea and the other is still away. One other man left for Mecca and returned to the district during my stay. Most of the pilgrims now fly to Mecca; only two men followed the traditional route through Ghana, Kano, Lake Chad, the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan (now Sudan), and on to Mecca. In general, all pilgrims have used their own resources for the trip, but they receive some help from their lineage brothers and from the other Moslems in the district and in Ouagadougou.

The pilgrimage to Mecca represents the greatest event in the lives of the district Moslems. When the last pilgrim left, a great crowd gathered at his house and prayed for his safe journey, and some even accompanied him to Ouagadougou and remained there until he left. The Moslems and many pagans of the district, under the command of the district chief, cultivated his fields during his absence. And when the new El Hadj returned, a large crowd accompanied him to his house with shouts of joy. There he killed a sheep in thanksgiving, sprinkled the crowd with holy water from Mecca, and recounted his experiences. His listeners were impressed by his airplane flight and the description of Mecca, but they showed the greatest interest when he said that Mecca women covered their faces and that most Meccan men were monogamous. The local Moslems smiled when they heard this bit of news from one of their members, but I have seen them scowl when discussing the monogamous practice desired by the Christians.

The attitudes of Moslems differ very little from those of the other Mossi as regards children and polygyny. They say that they do not believe in the

11: Skinner E-5 (1955-1957) 1964
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lowing comment applies most aptly to the situation in Mossi country: "Perhaps the most serious defect in the *conseils de notables* lay in the fact that, consisting as they did usually of older, and often illiterate, members who were without a knowledge of modern administration, they were unprepared to offer any opinion on a matter of technical nature even if the administrator were prepared to consult them." It should be added, however, that there were hardly any western-educated Mossi in the country at this time, and the officials in and around Ouagadougou were not willing to listen to the local people. Cf. Buell, I, 998–1000.

39. Buell, I, 1007.
40. *L'Afrique Française*, XXX (1920), 299.
41. Socquet, p. 62.
42. Soeur Marie-André, p. 236. Her propaganda in favor of ameliorating the status of the African woman led to the Mandel decree of June 1939, which forbade the marriage of preadolescent girls and instituted other reforms.
43. Bouniol, p. 60.
44. Dupont, p. 4.
45. Gorer, p. 149.
46. Cf. Tauxier, *Le Noir du Soudan*, p. 203.
47. Dim Delobson, p. 203.
48. Burthe d'Annelet, I, 288.
49. *Journal Officiel de la République Française* (Sept. 10, 1932), p. 9927.
50. Burthe d'Annelet, I, 299.
51. *L'Afrique Française*, XLII (1932), 523–33.
52. Burthe d'Annelet, I, 301–2.
53. *L'Afrique Française*, XLVIII (1938), 21.
54. *Ibid.*, XLIX (1939), 136–39.
55. Balima, p. 36.
56. Thompson and Adloff, p. 29.
57. Balima, pp. 36–37.
58. Thompson and Adloff, p. 29.
59. Deveze, pp. 184–85.
60. IFAN (Compte Rendu No. 429).
61. *Ibid.*
62. *Ibid.*

CHAPTER ELEVEN

1. The text of the recommendations and of other documents from the Brazzaville Conference can be found in "La Conférence Africaine Française, Brazzaville, 1944," in *Renaissance* (Paris, 1944).
2. Thompson and Adloff, pp. 206–7, and Cowan, pp. 175 ff.
3. Thompson and Adloff, p. 122.
4. Amon d'Aby, pp. 55–56.
5. Hodgkin and Schachter, p. 405.
6. Thompson and Adloff, p. 124.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 33–35.
8. Gonidec, p. 328.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 331.
10. *Journal Officiel, Débats de la République Française* (April–Dec. 1955), p. 2534.
11. Gonidec, pp. 333–34.
12. Holleaux, pp. 18 ff.
13. Wright, pp. 148–49, 178–79, 227.
14. "Manifeste du Rassemblement Démocratique Africain," *Le RDA dans la Lutte Anti-impérialiste* (Paris, 1948), p. 23.
15. Amon d'Aby, pp. 55–56.
16. *Journal Officiel, Débats de l'Assemblée de l'Union Française* (June 22, 1949), p. 769.
17. Cowan, pp. 98–99.
18. Balima, pp. 42–43.